THE INTRIGUES OF THE CONCLAVE,

SET FORTH

In a Relation of what passed therein

At the ELECTION of

Sixtus V. & Clement VIII.

With an HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of the

Election of Popes

In FORMER AGES: Also a more particular Description of the MANNER of it at this Day.

To which is added

AN ESSAY,

To Demonstrate, That according to the PRINCIPLES of the CHURCH of *ROME*, there has been no True and Lawful POPE since the Election of *SIXTUS* V.

LONDON,
Printed for *J. C.* near *Fleet-bridge*. 1690.

UMI

THE INTRIGUES OF THE Conclave, &c.

THE Doctrine of the Pope's *Infallibility*, upon which hang almoſt all the Articles of the *Romiſh* Religion, is a Banter of that Nature, that I think the Aſſertors of it, who are generally well enough acquainted with the Court of *Rome*, are much more to be wondered at, than the Soothſayers were by *Cato*, if they hold their Countenance when they look upon one another, I am ſure nothing can equal their Impudence who pretend to be ſerious in maintaining ſuch a Cauſe, but the Impertinence of thoſe who by Dint of ſolid Argumenrs endeavor to confute them, ſince there is no conſidering Perſon but muſt know that it is impoſſible that they themſelves ſhou'd believe what they wou'd fain Put upon the reſt of Mankind.

When we ſhall here take a View of the *CONCLAVE* where this Infallible Pope is Forged, and behold what ſcandalous Qualifications generally recommend Perſons to St. *Peter's* Chair as they call it. What baſe and deteſtable Practices are uſed by the Managers of the ſeveral Parties and Factions, to promote thoſe whom they think likely to prove ſubſervient to their private, and commonly wicked and abominable Deſigns, I am ſure none will imagin that they who are concern'd herein, tho' their Blaſphemous Cant is all the while of nothing but Divine Inſpiration, can think their Proceedings to be influenced by the Holy Ghoſt, or indeed deſire they ſhould.

For the better understanding of the following Relation, and for the Reader's satisfaction, I shall, before we go any further, give a short Account of the Manner of the Election of *Popes* in former Ages, together with a more particular Description of the *Proceedings* of the *Conclave* in our Times. But, by the way, I cannot forbear taking notice of a very Formal Story that is told us in the Book of the Sacred Ceremonies now used by the Church of *Rome*, which says that St. *Peter*, whil'st Bishop of that See, instituted a College of Four and twenty Senators, who afterwards, in the time of Pope *Sylvester*, were named Cardinals, that is *Princes* of the Church. These, and no other were to have a Vote or Suffrage in the Election of their Bishop, and if any other usurped that Right, it was by Intrusion or Violence. Now I wou'd fain know whether all those *Popes*, which by the Confession of the said Book itself were chosen either by the Clergy and People in general, or nominated by the Emperors for so many Ages together, are to be accounted more duly Elected, than they that are stiled Schismaticks and Antipopes? If not, what will become of that uninterrupted Succession which of late Years has been so much boasted of?

It is certain that for the first Five Centuries the Bishops of *Rome* were Chosen by the joint consent of the Clergy and People, to whom they were accountable for their Administration, and so far were they from arrogating that unlimited Authority over the Church which the Popes of the later Ages have pretended to, that they were subject in matters of Faith to the Censures of the Clergy of their own Dioceſs, by whom *Eugenius* the First was interdicted from Celebrating Divine Service until he had renounced the Hereſie of the *Monothelites*. After the Death of *Simplicius Odoacer* King of the *Heruli* makes a Law, under pretence of remedying the Diſorders that often happen'd at the Elections of Popes, by which he forbad both People and Clergy to proceed to the Choice of any until they first knew his pleaſure concerning the Perſon that was to be Elected. This Law was Twenty Years afterwards aboliſhed at the Fourth Council of *Rome* by the conſent of *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*.

But this *Arrian* Prince toward the later Years of his Reign was ſo far from preſerving thoſe Priviledges which he had reſtored to the *Romans*, that he took upon him to Create the Popes himſelf. *Felix* the Fourth deriving his Authority wholly from his Nomination. The Gothish Kings that ſucceeded him followed his Example herein, only ſometimes

times they were content to approve of the Person whom the Clergy recommended to them. When *Justinian* had driven the *Goths* out of *Italy*, he retain'd the same Power over the Popes that they before had assumed, both he and his Successors obliging the New Elect to come and demand a Confirmation from them, for which they were to pay a round Sum of Money before they could exercise even their Spiritual Function.

And because of the Distance between *Constantinople*, the then Seat of the Empire, and *Rome*, the Exarch of *Ravenna* had often power delegated to him, to enquire into the Merits of the Person Nominated, and if he found nothing Objected against him, he was to approve of his Election. Thus *Isacius* the Exarch made a Journey on purpose to Confirm *Severinus*. This Custom continued until *Constantine* the Emperor, Sirnamed *Pogonatus*, out of the great Veneration he had for the Sanctity of *Benedict* the second, sent him a Decree wherein it was established, That he whom the People and Clergy of *Rome* should Chuse, should for the time to come be forthwith acknowledged for *St. Peter*'s Successor, without expecting the Authority of the Emperor, or his *Exarchs*. But this Decree was never, as I can find, much regarded by that Emperor's Successors, for the Popes were never Consecrated without their Consent and Approbation.

When the Empire of the West fell into the hands of *Charles* the *Great*, he retain'd the same right still, and transfer'd it to those of his Race. The *German* Emperors kept it as long as they could, but when they grew weak and feeble, the Popes instead of submitting to their Approbation, pretended that they had a Right to dispose of even the Empire it self, so that at last, tho' not without a great deal of Squabling, it was carried, and Decreed, by *Nicholas* the Second, That the Election of the Popes should entirely remain in the power of the Cardinals. This Canon was afterwards confirmed by several Popes and Councils. *Alexander* the Third ordained, That he only should be esteemed Canonically *Elected*, that had the Votes of at least Two Thirds of the College of Cardinals; and this is that way of *Election* that has obtain'd ever since, and which we are now going to describe.

After the Funeral Rites of the Deceased Pope are Celebrated, the Cardinals enter the *Conclave*, which is held for the most part in the *Vatican*, where in a long Gallery are erected small Apartments, called Cells, hung with Purple Cloth, for the reception of every

Cardinal. When they are shut up they are allowed but two Servants a piece, or Conclavists, as they call them, who are generally the Craftiest Fellows that can be met with. During the time that the *Conclave* lasts, the City Militia are always upon Duty without Doors, and the Masters of the Ceremonies continually walking about the Gallery within, to prevent any private Correspondence, or Underhand dealing, insomuch that the very Dishes that are sent in to their Eminencies are searched, lest there should be any Letters concealed in them. Commonly before they proceed to any Election, there are certain Articles drawn up, relating either to the better Government of the Church, or Reformation of Abuses, and presented to the Sacred College in General, which every one subscribes, and swears that if he shall be Chosen Pope, he will Religiously Observe; but this Oath, tho' taken in the most solemn manner, is seldom or never kept, the new Pope generally handselling the plenitude of his power in Absolving himself.

There are three different ways of Election now made use of in the *Conclave*, *Scrutiny*, *Access*, and *Adoration*, there was a Fourth formerly used, but now quite left off, called *Compromise*, which was when the Cardinals found it impossible for them to agree, amongst themselves, consented to Chuse out of their own number three, or five, giving them power to Elect whom they pleased. This Election was performed somewhat after the manner of our Auctions, by Inch of Candle, for it was to be concluded and determined during the time in which a Taper, lighted by common consent, continued Burning, but if they could not agree before it went out, the Commission expired with it.

The *SCRUTINY* is performed after this manner, Every Cardinal has ready prepared for him a Scroll of paper folded in to five pages, on the first of which the Conclavist writes the name of the person for whom his Master gives his Vote, with these words, *Ego Eligo in Summum Pontificem Dominum meum Cardinalem.*—The Cardinal never writes this himself, unless he counterfeits another hand, for fear lest his Character should be known; on this fold two others are doubled down, and all three fastned together with some Wax, and marked with two different Seals made for that purpose. On the Fourth page the Cardinal writes his own Name, which he covers after the like manner with the Fifth. At the time appointed for the Scrutiny all the Cardinals take their places in their Order, in the Pa-

elina

nine Chappel, with the Scrolls they have prepared in their hands. Then every one in his turn goes up to the Altar, before which is placed a Table cover'd with a Purple Carpet, and upon it a Chalice with a *Patina*, or Plate set thereon, on each side of which sit the first Cardinal Bishop, and the first Cardinal Deacon. Here every one kneeling, makes a short Prayer, and then puts his Scroll into the Chalice, which done, the *senior* Cardinals of every Title, that is, Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, go to the Chambers of them that are sick, and gather their Votes, which are prepared with the like Care and Circumspection as the rest, when all the Scrolls are put into the Chalice, the Cardinal Bishop turns them all out upon the *Patina*, and takes the first that comes to his hand, and gives it to the Cardinal Deacon, which he reads with an audible Voice, the Cardinals noting with their Pens how many Votes each person hath. If it happens that any one has two Thirds, he is made Pope, without proceeding any further, and then all the Billets are opened, and every one's Name that consented to the Election read publickly. But this happens so rarely, that it was accounted a miraculous thing that *Adrian*, *Charles* the Fifth's Tutor, was chosen at the first Scrutiny: But if this happens not, then the Master of the Ceremonies comes in with a Pan of Coals, and turns all the Papers out, so that no Man is known for what person he has given his Vote.

When the Election cannot be determined by Scrutiny, then it is tried by *Accessi*, which is thus performed: Each Cardinal rising from his Seat, goes and makes a profound Reverence to him whom he wou'd have Elected, saying, *Ego accedo ad Reverendissimum Dominum meum.* — The rest in the mean time writing down the Names of those both to whom the *Accesso* is made, and who make it. This has some resemblance to the ancient manner of giving Votes in the *Roman* Senate, when they that co-curr'd in the matter proposed went from their places to the person who made the first motion, from whence came the Saying, *in sententiam ire*, which is not unlike the Custom of our Parliaments, when the House divides itself into *Ten's* and *No's*.

But that which makes the greatest Noise and Bustle in the *Conclave*, is the way of *Adoration*, which is seldom put in practice but when some young and hot headed Cardinals resolve to become Masters of the Election, and when they see they cannot accomplish their Design in a peaceable manner, endeavor to do it by plain Force, these being generally the Nephews of the deceased Popes, and consequently at the Head of all those promoted by them, who are obliged in Honour

(nay, some make it Conscience) not to bank all any thing wherein they may serve their young Masters, they having first laid their Plot amongst themselves, watch their opportunity, when the rest of the Cardinals are in a hurry and confusion, to fall down on their Knees before the person whom they design to chuse, and adore him as Pope. Those that have not been made acquainted with the Contrivance, either fearing lest the Adorers should have a sufficient Number to compass their Ends, or suspecting the Courage and Constancy of one another, are often forced to do the like, by which means every one being unwilling by his standing out to incur the displeasure of him who he thinks will be Elected without him, strives to seem as forward as he can, and thereby oftentimes becomes the main occasion of the promotion of One for whom perhaps he has the greatest Aversion. This is the manner of Election by way of *Adoration*, which, tho sufficient of itself, is still confirmed by Scrutiny; yet the Managers thereof take care that it shall receive no prejudice thereby.

There was another way frequently practised in former Ages, which was called by *Inspiration* or *Dictamen* of the Holy Ghost. That is, when the Cardinals were assembled in the Chappel, the first Bishop arose, and in a short Speech exhorted the Fathers to make Choice of one, who for his Piety and Wisdom was worthy of so great a Dignity; then he Demanded by which way they thought fit to proceed by *Compromise*, or *Scrutiny*, telling them withal, that if his Opinion might prevail, he thought — was the fittest Person. If all present, or two Thirds of them concur'd in the person Nominated, he was without any Scrutiny pronounced Canonically Elected.

The Pope that is Chosen after any of these Methods, is conducted into the *Sacristia*, and is there Cloth'd with the Pontifical Robes, from thence he is brought, with a Rich Mitre on his Head, into the Chappel, and seated on the Altar, where the Cardinals perform the Ceremony of Adoration to him, every one in his order Kissing his Feet, Hands and Mouth. This done, the Doors of the *Conclave* are opened, the Pope shews himself to the People, and Blesses them. Then the first Cardinal Deacon proclaims with a Loud Voice these Words, *Annuntio vobis Gaudium Magnum, Papam habemus, Reverendissimus Dominus Cardinalis — Electus est in Summum Pontificem & elegit sibi nomen.* — Then his Holiness goes to St. *Peter's* Church, the Cardinals leading the way, with a Cross carried before them; when he comes to the Altar, he there takes off his Mitre, and Kneeling down gives

gives thanks to God, and the Apostles, and then Arising sits upon the Altar. Here first Bishop Kneels and Sings the *Te Deum*, then the Adoration is again performed after the same manner as it was in the Conclave, which with a short Office concludes that Days solemnity. These are the outward Formalities of the Conclave. But how the private Designs and Intrigues of the several Factions are carried on, we shall see in the two following Relations. But he that desires a true Specimen of all the little Arts and Tricks, whereby the Candidates themselves procure the Votes of others, will without doubt be fully satisfied with the Behavior of *Montalto*, known afterwards by the Name of *Sixtus* the Fifth, an account of which take as follows,

It is certain that never any person more craftily concealed a proud and aspiring Mind, with a profound Dissimulation, than this Cardinal did: For tho he had in his Youth play'd all those Pranks in little, which after his Advancement to the Holy Chair, made some of the greatest Princes in *Christendom* to tremble, and had, upon all occasions, expresst a most naughty and turbulent spirit. Yet he was no sooner promoted to the Purple, and had begun to cast his eyes upon that mark to which all the desires and hopes of the Sacred College are continually directed; But instead of the *fiery* and arrogant *Peretti*, he was presently transformed into the meek and humble *Montalto*. Before nothing cou'd make him more proud, than to see himself admired and envy'd by all Mankind; now the very heighth of his Ambition was to become the most despicable Object of Contempt and Scorn to all the Cardinals. He so smother'd that vivacity of Spirit which was always used to sparkle in his Discourse and Actions, that now he was become Famous for an Example of a dull and blockish stupidity. He was naturally of a strong and vigorous Constitution, yet he now counterfeited so many Diseases and Infirmities of old Age, tho he had scarce past Threescore, that he never appear'd in publick, but he seem'd as if he were just stooping into his Grave. These little Arts of his had that happy Success, that to his great Joy he soon found that the best Titles his Brethren could give him, were those of *A Lazar*, and the Ass of *La Marca*. Perhaps one born under our dull and *Northern* Climat, may think these strange Qualifications, to recommend one to the Sovereign Pontificat, yet we shall find that they only were the cause of *Montalto*'s Exaltation.

Upon the Death of *Gregory* the Thirteenth, before the Cardinals enter'd into the *Conclave*, *Montalto* makes a Visit to *Farnese*, Dean of the College, one who had always exprest the greatest Contempt imaginable of him. To him he makes a most Lamentable Complaint of the Infirmities of his Age, and desires the favour of him, that he would dispence with his Appearance at the *Conclave*, if he thought it would last long, for the time of his Dissolution drawing near, he could not expect to live to see a new Pope Chosen. *Farnese* advises him not to abandon the Interest of the Church, upon an occasion of so great a concern; to which he replies, That if there were any hopes that his Suffrage would be in the least Service able to Holy Church, he would resolve to meet Death in the *Conclave*. As he was going on in the same Cant,

Farnese takes him up somewhat sharply, saying, *My Lord, I wou'd have you take a little care of your own Concerns too, for I cannot believe but you have as great an Affection to the Holy Chair as another.*

Montalto something surprized at this Reparty, calmly replies, *That the Cardinals must necessarily be quite blind, if to so great a person as his Lordship they wou'd go to prefer one who had neither Merit nor Experience, nor any thing good in him, besides an ardent desire of serving his good Friends and Patrons.*

The same Discourse he us'd to all the rest of the Cardinals, especially to the Heads of Factions, and those that had any pretentions to the Papacy; telling every one in particular, *That it would be a great prejudice to the Church if the Government was committed to any other Hands, and that if he had a Hundred Votes they should all be at his Lordships Service.*

The Forty Two Cardinals that compos'd this *Conclave* were divided into Five Factions; Cardinal *Farnese* appear'd at the Head of the First; the Second was led by *Este*; the Third by *Alessandrino*; the Fourth was directed by *Altemps*; and the Fifth, which equal'd them all in Number, was that of *Buon Compagno*, Nephew of *Gregory* the Thirteenth, whose Creatures they were. The pretenders were Fourteen; *Farnese* and *Savelli* of *Paul* the Thirds Creation; *Santa Croce Paleotto*, St. *George*, and *Sirlet*, of *Pius* the Fourths; *Montalto Cesis*, St. *Severina*, and *Albano*, of the promotion of *Pius* the Fifth; *Facchinetti* commonly called *Santi Quatri*; *Della Torre*, *Monaovi*, and *Castagna*, Creatures of *Gregory* the Thirteenths.

Altemps

Alexand. Medici, and *Alessandrino*, upon the first entrance into the *Conclave* had plotted together to make *Cesi* Pope, and thus they managed their design. After the Bulls are read, all the Cardinals have liberty to go out of the *Conclave*, upon condition, *That they return again before Night*. This they thought the fittest time to put their project in execution, for as soon as the Cardinals, who as they suspected would exclude *Cesi*, were gone out, they intended to carry him into the *Paolina*, and there proceed to a Scrutiny, and Elect, and Adore him without any opposition. But this was not kept so secret, but the Cardinal *Di San Sisto*, who had always declared against *Cesi*, was informed of it at his going out of the *Conclave*, he thereupon immediately returns, and sends for the rest that were ingaged in the same Interest. This unlucky Accident quite broke the measures of *Cesi* Party, for it made so many declare against him, that his Favourers durst never so much as mention his Name again in the *Conclave*.

After him *Serlet* was proposed, *Alexand. Medici*, and all the Creatures of *Pius* the Fourth appeared zealously in his behalf, and had certainly succeeded, had not *Farnese*, *Este*, and *Storza*, as stifly opposed them; their reason for excluding *Sirlet* was, because he had been excluded once before, for they were resolv'd never to trust one whom they had offended. Another cause of his Misfortune was, his familiarity with Cardinal *Caro*, who had formerly disobliged most of the Sacred College, whilst he was Secretary of State to *Pius* and *Gregory*, they therefore now thought fit to take their Revenge upon his Friend. Besides, *Farnese* humbly conceived himself to be far the better Man of the two, and therefore knew no reason why *Sirlet* should be prefer'd before him. *Castagna*'s turn came next, but the old Cardinals thought their Honour was concern'd, not to let one of the last Promotion get the start of them, and so they excluded him, tho' for his Vertue, Learning and Moderation, he was counted a Person as Worthy as any to fill the Holy Chair.

The Person next mention'd was *Savelli*, who for his Vertue was esteem'd not much inferior to the former; but the prodigious number of his Bastards was feard would be a Charge and Scandal to the Holy See. But *Medici* supported him as far as he could with his Credit, until *Colonna* and *Cesi*, *Savelli*'s declared Enemies, told him plainly, that they would abandon his Interest, and go over to *Farnese*, if he persisted; *Medici* thereupon thought it more convenient to forsake his Friend, then cause a Rebellion amongst his Creatures, and there-

by give *Farnese*, for whom he had no great Affection, an occasion of becoming Master of the Election.

By this time several Intrigues were on foot in behalf of *Della Torre*, who was then absent from *Rome*. But *Farnese* and *San Sisto*, who expected him every Hour, did what they could to protract the time till he came; they had laid a Design, that when he entered the Conclave, they and their whole Party should meet and receive him at the Door, and Crying out, *Long Live the Pope*, carry him to the Chappel, and there fall to Adoration. Thinking, not without reason, that it was impossible for any Cardinal to have the Courage to oppose them.

Medici being informed of their contrivance, was not a little disquieted thereat, for he saw plainly, that should *Della Torre* be chosen Pope, *Farnese* having so much influence over him, must necessarily engross all the power to himself, and consequently would cause such a Number of Cardinals to be made, who being wholly at his Devotion, should Elect him if he survived the Pope, as in all probability he would, he being the Younger, and more Healthy of the Two.

These Considerations set *Medici*'s Wits at work, but not being able to find amongst his own Friends a sufficient number to form an Exclusion, he began to grow desperate, till at last he perceived, that *Alessandrino* and *Este* were practising under-hand in *Montalto*'s Favour; the former, because he was a Creature of *Pius* the Fifth, his Uncle; the other, engaged thereto by *Ruffiners*, who had great influence over him. To these *Medici*, to rid himself of the fear of *Farnese*, makes secret proposals of a Union, offering his own and Friends Votes for *Montalto*. This Motion was readily received, and agreed to. *Medici* had Credit in the Court of *Spain*, and was sure of the *Spanish* Faction. *Alessandrino* had many Friends amongst them, and *Este* was Chief of the *French* Faction; so that now both Crowns agreed in the Choice of one Person.

Montalto all this while kept himself close in his Chamber, insomuch that there was so little Notice taken of him, that he seemd to be abandond and forgotten by all Mankind. He seldom came out, except it were to Mass, or into the *Paolina*, to assist at the Scrutinies, but he seemd so little concernd at the Intrigues there, that he was thought not so much as to mind what he was doing. But he knew very well that nothing could better advance his own Affairs, than this seeming

seeming neglect of them; nor indeed was he less Industrious than those who make the greatest noise and stir, when ever he met with any of *Buon Compagno's* Party, he would say, *That the Cardinals ought to make choice of one that was agreeable to him, the Sacred College owing that Deference to the memory of his Uncle, who had govern'd the Church with so much Zeal and Charity.* When he had any occasion to speak to a Friend of *Farneſe*, he Launched out in his praiſe, saying withal, *That he was Aſtoniſh'd, and could not comprehend the meaning of People that he was not yet Choſen.* To those that depend upon *Medici*, he spoke of him, *As one of the greateſt Deſerts in the whole College.* In short, he always took an occasion to speak well of every Body, but would never want a Panegyrick for those whom he thought either his Enemies, or to have any Credit or Authority in the *Conclave*.

Aleſſandrino, *Medici* and *Eſte*, having made the League we have spoken of amongst themselves, came privately to *Montalto's* Chamber to inform him thereof, *Aleſſandrino* speaking in the name of the rest, *Bids him be of good Courage, for they were come to bring him the good News of their Reſolution to make him Pope*; which he no sooner heard, but he fell a Coughing, as if he were ready to give up the Ghost; as soon as he found himself able to speak, he told them, *That if that were their Intention, God knows his Reign could be but short, since Life it ſelf was a Burthen to him; and consequently the Cares of the Church would be much too heavy for him to bear, without a great deal of Succors and Aſſiſtance.* The Cardinals told him, *That God without doubt would give him Force ſufficient to Govern his Church.* But he continuing his Discourse, told them, *That he was reſolv'd never to accept of the Papacy, of which his want of Experience rendered him Unworthy, unleſs they would promiſe him before hand to take upon them the Government Conjointly with him, for he could not in Conſcience undertake it alone. Aleſſandrino* told him, *That they would take care that he should not want Aſſiſtance. Ay*, says he, (after some time spent in spitting and spawling,) *if you make me Pope, you will do the ſame as if you placed your ſelves in the Chair, we ſhall divide the Pontificat betwixt us; I will have the Name and Title, I will be Pope in appearance, and you ſhall have the Power and Authority.*

Nothing could give greater Encouragement to these young Cardinals to prosecute the Enterprize they had undertaken, than the sly Old Man's Discourse, who now thought they had gotten a Pope after

their own Hearts. And as soon as they had parted from him, began to reckon amongst themselves the great Advantages they should make of a silly Old Coxcomb, that had neither Sense nor Understanding; who had, as they vainly imagin'd to themselves, so fully discover'd the great weakness both of his Body and Mind. They promised to themselves nothing less than an Absolute Power both in Church and State. *For how can he*, say they, *undertake to concern himself in any Business of Moment when Pope, who whilst a Cardinal was content to be led by the Nose by others; and to whom should he commit the Government of himself, and the Care of all things, but to them who had raised him? As for his Nephews, they were born and bred rather to manage the Plow, than State-Affairs.*

They so far pleas'd themselves with this Fancy, that they were resolv'd no Obstacles should retard their design. *Medici* neglected the Honour of his Family, which upon some private Disgusts was engaged against *Montalto*: *Alessandrino* deserted his Old Friend *Albano*, who besides his Personal Merits had obliged him by all the ties of Gratitude to his Interest, and was particularly recommended to him by his Uncle on his Death Bed. But he put them them off who spoke in his behalf upon the account of his Merits, by telling them, *That he was too Wise a Man for the Papal Chair, since the Spaniards would never consent to the Election of one who was not of a far more Moderate Understanding.* But they were both now content to Sacrifice their Honour to their Ambition, yet they repented of what they had done, before they went out of the Conclave.

But at present they thought every hour, before they had accomplished their Design, a year of their Reign lost, *Montalto* was therefore recommended by them in all haste to the rest of the Cardinals, as one of a quiet, peaceable, and obliging Temper, of a good and easie Nature, and one who had a Kindness for all the World, and wou'd give disturbance to no Body. And, in short, that had all the good Qualities that were requisite in such a Pope as they desired. I shall not stay to recount all the little Arts which they used to gain over to their Party every one in particular, their chief Intrigues being level'd at the Heads of Factions. *Sanssisto* had the whole Creation of *Gregory* V. under him, and had already engaged himself to *Farnese*. In the first place they thought it most convenient to debauch some of his Followers, in which having succeeded, by letting them know how their Interest lay that way, they began to make their attempt

terrour upon him. But the greatest Obstacle was, *Gregory San Sisto's* Uncle had disobliged *Montalto*, by taking away the Pension that had been assign'd to the poor Cardinals, of which number he was one, notwithstanding that a little before he had dedicated his Commentaries upon St. *Ambrose* to him, upon which account *San Sisto* had expresst some fear of *Montalto's* Resentment. To remove which difficulty they made use of his Confident Cardinal *Riario*, who being sick of the Gout at that time, order'd himself to be carried to *San Sisto's* Chamber, to whom, with a great deal of seeming Concern, he said, *That the Faction of* Montalto *was grown so powerful, and his Election so far advanced, that he won'd Infallibly be Chosen; so that it was but Time lost to endeavor to retard a thing which won'd succeed, to the Confusion of all those that oppos'd it. Wherefore he advis'd and conjur'd him not to lose the Honour and Reward of being assistant to that Election, since it was not in his power to hinder it.*

It was not a small Surprize to *San Sisto* to hear this Discourse, but his Astonishment was much encreas'd, when *Riario* had scarce taken his Leave, but in comes *Guastavillano*, another of his Creatures, (the Business having been before concerted between them) upon the same Errand, telling him withal, *That he wondred that a Man of his prudence and sagacity was not come over before this time, since if he persisted on the longer in his Obstinacy, his Ruine was inevitable.*

During all these Intrigues, *Montalto* continued still quiet in his Cell, without discovering that he had the least thoughts of the Papacy. When those that manag'd for him came to give him an account how things past, his general Answer was, *That if the Difficulties in the* Conclave *seemed great, what were they to expect in the* Vatican? *He conjured them therefore never to entertain any Thoughts of chusing him except they would first promise him to take upon themselves the whole Government of the Church.* Had this been spoken by any other person, the Cheat must certainly have been discovered, but he acted his part so well, his words exactly corresponding with his actions, that what would create a suspition of Affectation in others, only served to increase the Opinion every one had of his pure and natural simplicity.

But tho he seem'd thus retired from all the World, yet as he wou'd never let slip any opportunity of cringing to, and fawning upon all the Chiefs of the Factions, he wou'd ever be telling of the great Obligations he had to Cardinal *Alessandrino*, and say, *That if he were Lord of many Worlds, he shou'd never be able to repay the Favors he had receiv'd from*

from his Uncle Pope Pius V. When he made his Court to those of the *Spanish* Faction, he would be sure to look and talk as filly as he could possibly, and this gain'd the very Hearts and Souls of them: For they knew very well that their Master hated nothing more, than to see a Man of Sense placed in St. *Peter's* Chair, for fear lest he shou'd prove a bad Neighbour to his Dominions in *Italy*. But as for *Montalto*, they took care to publish that he had the greatest respect imaginable for him.

One day *Montalto* making a Visit to Cardinal *Altemps*, told him, *That he was so much obliged to him, and the Marquis his Son, that he was resolv'd entirely to devote himself to their service, and shou'd be proud of having an occasion to acknowledge his Lordship as his only Benefactor and Maker of his Fortunes.*

Altemps was so tickled with the Compliment, that he presently answer'd, *That if it lay in his power, he might assure himself of being Pope.*

Montalto, upon this, calls God to witness, *That he had no Ambition of so eminent a Dignity of which he knew himself both incapable and unworthy: But if he shou'd upon any account induced to desire it, it was only that it might be in his power to give a Testimony to the World of the profound Respect and Esteem he had for his Friends, but more particularly for his most Illustrious Lordship.*

The same Discourse he used to *Madruzzo*, who had his Catholick Majesties Instructions at this *Conclave*, and indeed to every one whom he thought any way able to be serviceable to him.

The time being come when they were to proceed to the *Scrutiny*, and all the Cardinals having taken their places in the *Paulina* for that purpose, whilst the Bulls of Cardinal *di Vercelli* were a reading, he being newly come into the *Conclave*, *Alessandrino*, upon a Sign given him by *Este*, taking *San Sisto* aside out of the Chappel, *My Lord*, says he, *Altemps and Medici have resolved that* Montalto *shall be chosen immediately, our Friends have generally concurr'd with them, so that the business is as good as done already, only we have forborn to put the last hand to it, out of the respect we bear to you. We have left it in your power to chuse whether you will oblige the new Pope ever to acknowledge you the Author of his Greatness, or have the displeasure of seeing one made against your Will and Consent.*

San Sisto considering this Discourse, and recollecting what had been before told him by *Riario* and *Ghastavillano*, began to forget his Engagements

agreement with *Farnese*, and promis'd he had made never to give his Vote for any one without his advice and concurrence; whereupon he sends for all his Creatures, to consult with them what was best to be done upon this occasion. A great part of them had already engaged themselves for *Montalto*, who were not now wanting to recommend him to their Patron as the fittest person to fill St. *Peter*'s Chair; the rest seeing his party so powerful, durst not so much as open their lips against him.

Every one wondred that *Farnese* the Dean of the College, one of a working Head, and great experience in the Intrigues of the *Conclave*, did not more vigorously oppose one whom he had hitherto declared against, and had always treated with the greatest contempt and scorn; but he relied upon *San Sisto*'s promise, who, if he had continued firm, had certainly together with him excluded *Montalto*. It was from this security of his that the adverse party made their greatest advantage. Besides, the mean opinion he always entertained of *Montalto*, made him the more negligent in opposing him; he thought it impossible for one of such a cadaverous Look, should trouble him many days: And that his simplicity was such, that there was no fear of his Resentments, it seemed indifferent therefore to him whether such a stupid and wretched Creature was made Pope, or continued Cardinal. Wherefore when he asked *San Sisto*, *Why he consented to this Election?* and was told by him, *that it was because the person was of a calm and easie Nature, under whom they should enjoy all the Liberty they desired.* He returned Answer, *That he was much in the right on't, for* Montalto *was one that had not Wit enough to do any Mischief, nor Understanding to do any Good.*

San Sisto having felt the pulse of his Creatures, thought it now his best policy to agree to their Sentiments, and seem as forward as he could in declaring for *Montalto*, putting himself therefore at the head of them, he enters the Chappels, where whilst some were proposing a *Scrutiny*, he, to enhance his Merits, joining himself with *Alessandrino*, goes immediately to *Montalto*, whom these both Compliment, by crying out, *The Pope, The Pope.* The greatest part of the College applauded what they had done, and approved of it, by imitating their Example. But the Dean *Farnese* not liking this Tumultuary Proceeding, order'd them all to their places again in order, to proceed in a regular manner to the *Scrutiny*.

Montalto

Montalto hereupon ſlily whiſpers *San Siſto*, deſiring him to ſee that it may be done without prejudice to the *Adoration* already performed; which made both him and *Alexandrino* cry out twice, *Fuera, fuera* to the Adoration.

As ſoon as *Montalto* perceived that above half the Voices were for him, without ſtaying till the *Scrutiny* was ended leaps out of his Seat, throws away his Staff, that had hitherto ſupported him inſtead of a Crutch, into the middle of the place, and begins to ſtretch out himſelf, inſomuch that he ſoon appeared half as big again as he was before: But that which was moſt ſurprizing, he fetches ſuch a luſty Hem, that a young Man of Thirty could ſcarce reach. We may well think that the Cardinals were ſtartled at this ſudden Alteration. The old Dean began immediately to ſee Repentance in the Countenances of *Alexandrino* and *San Siſto*, ſaid aloud, *Let us not go too faſt, there is an Error in the Scrutiny.* But *Montalto* knowing that the time was now come wherein he might ſpeak for himſelf, reſolutely told him, *That the Scrutiny was good, and according to Form.* And a little after, he that within an hour or two had ſcarce ſtrength ſufficient to enable him to Cough, Roared out the *Te Deum* with ſuch a thundring Voice, that the Roof of the Chappel began to ſhake.

As he was kneeling before the Altar, according to the Cuſtom to make a ſmall Ejaculation, the Maſter of the Ceremonies obſerving the uſual Formalities, asked, *If he accepted of the Papal Dignity?* He putting on a Grave and Majeſtick Countenance, anſwer'd, *That he had received one Popedom already, which conſequently he could not accept of again: But if they had another to give him, he was ready for it; for, Thanks be to God, his ſhoulders were ſtrong enough to bear double the weight of what was yet put upon them.*

Farneſe, as well as the reſt of the Cardinals hearing theſe words, turned to *Santa Severina*, and ſaid, *They thought they had placed an Idoot in St. Peter's Chair, but now perceive we have gotten a Pope who will make Fools and Aſſes of us.* *Santa Severina* ſhrugged his ſhoulders, but could return no other Anſwer, than *the Lord have mercy upon us.*

As the Maſters of the Ceremonies were putting on his Pontifical Robes, he, as if he were weary of that formal and decrepid poſture which he had ſo long kept himſelf in, ſtretch'd out his Limbs with that Vigor as aſtoniſhed all the Beholders. *Ruſticucci* hereupon preſuming upon his former familiarity, ſaid to him, *Holy Father, I perceive the Holy Chair contains a Sovereign Remedy for all Diſtempers, ſince it reſtores*

stores Health, and Youth to Old and Infirm Cardinals. To which he screwing up his Face as formerly as he could, replyed, *I Feel it.* When *Medici* told him, *That he seemd now to have different Mine and Air from what he had whilst a Cardinal. I was looking then,* says he, *for the Keys of Paradise, and therefore held down my Head, but now I have found them I lift up my Eyes to Heaven, having nothing else to seek for on Earth.*

It was no unpleasant sight to *Farnese*, when he beheld *Este*, *Medici*, and *Alessandrino*, instead of expressing their Joy for having a Pope of their own Creation, look very Melancholy upon it, wherefore he said to *Sforza*, as he was going out of the Conclave, *That* Charles *the Fifth having Abdicated the Empire in the Morning, repented of what he had done before Night, which I believe continues he, those Three Cardinals are not to begin to do now. I shall count them happy,* replys *Sforza, if their Repentance last no longer than that Emperor's did.*

As soon as *Sisto Quinto*, for so *Montalto* had stiled himself, was Conducted to the Lodgings prepared for him as Pope, he could not rest till he had found an opportunity of letting those that had Advanced him know how he was resolved to bank their Expectations, he therefore Commands, *That the Cardinals* Alessandrino, Medici, Rusticucci, Este, San Sisto, Altemps, *be invited to Sup with him.* But here I cannot Omit a Story that they tell of him, to make us the better acquainted with the Change that was made in him, His *Maestro di Camera*, according to his constant custom, while he was Cardinal, came and Asked him, *What he would be pleased to have to Supper.* He putting on such a Stern Countenance as seemd to reprove the Fellows Impudence, replyed, *Is this a Question to be asked a Soveraign Prince? Go,* continues he, *and provide me a Magnificent and Royal Entertainment, out of which I shall chuse what pleases me best.*

The Cardinals that were Invited being all come, except *Este*, who suspecting the Entertainment they were like to have, excused himself, *Alessandrino* seeing the Pope stirring about busily, began to wonder that he had not taken any Repose after that Days Fatigue. But he told him, *That Business was his chief Repose. But Your Holiness,* replys *Alessandrino* something too familiarly, *did not seem to have so much strength Yesterday, nor the Day before.* He smartly taking him up, Answered, *Yesterday and the Day before I was not Pope, but now I am. Rusticucci* seeing some of his Robes not fit as they should, began to put them in Order, but he told them, *That it did not become him to be*

so Familiar with the Pope. But these Two Cardinals who had promised themselves so much Authority, could not yet contain from medling. But as they were giving Orders for what they thought convenient about the Popes Apartment, *His Holiness*, very seriously, *desired them not to put themselves to so much trouble, for he being Master there, would take care to Command things to be done according to his own pleasure.*

When they were sat down to the Table, he presently began in a long Discourse to Preach to them concerning the Power that Christ had given to St. *Peter*, in making him his Vicar upon Earth, He often repeating, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock will I Build my Church*; upon which words he would say, *How profound are the Judgments of God! Jesus Christ has left upon Earth but one* Peter, *one Sovereign Pontife, one Onely Vicar, one Head; To him only has he entrusted the Care of his Flock; Thou art* Peter, *that is, Thou only art the High-priest, to Thee will I give the Keys of Heaven.* Which is as much as to say, *Thou shalt have an Absolute Power over all things, without Exception, to Bind and to Loose. It is to Thee only, to Thee alone, that have given Power and Authority to Govern my Church; to Thee that art my Vicar, and not unto others that are thy Inferiors and Servants.*

It was no hard matter for the Cardinals to comprehend the meaning of all this. They plainly saw that his Discourse was only leveld at those Castles in the Air which they had been so long Building; but that which Mortified them the most, they were forced to let him, run on without daring to give him the least Interruption; for if any did but offer to Matter, he was sure to give him a severe Reprimand, and put him in mind of his Distance. At last *Rusticucci*, something bolder than the rest, ventur'd to say, *It is a great surprize to me*, Most Holy Father, *when I consider, that you often used to say in the* Conclave, *That it was impossible for you to Govern the Church without Assistance, but now your Discourse tends the quite contrary way. You say true,* (Answers *Sisto* very gravely,) *but I said it then, because I believ'd so; but to Day God has endued me with so much strength, that I believe no such thing.* With this Compliment he dismiss'd them. And now I shall take my leave of him, being afraid that I have straid too far from my Subject, my Title Page informing me, that I have no business at present out of the *Conclave*, I shall therefore now give the Reader an Account of what passed in it at the Election of *Clement* the Eighth.

The

The Sacred College was at that time divided into Three Principal Factions. The First of which was the *Spanish*, whereof *Madruzzo* was the Leader. His Catholick Majesty had Nominated Five to them, out of which they were to procure the Election of one, *Viz. Colonna*, *Como*, *Paliotto*, *Santa Sevarina*, and *Madruzzo* himself. *Santa Sevarina* was the Man who in outward appearance stood the fairest in the Opinion of this Party, tho' it was not doubted but many of them had By-Ends of their own, which subdivided them into many petty Factions, one whereof favoured *Madruzzo*, who secretly aspired to the Papal Dignity himself.

The Second Faction was of those who were Creatures of *Sisto Quinto*, and consequently were obliged, by what they call Honour and Gratitude at *Rome*; blindly to submit themselves to the Conduct of *Montalto* his Nephew, who, tho' he had in a former *Conclave* Vigorously opposed the Exaltation of *Santa Sevarina*, yet now contrary to the Maxims of his Nation, he appeared as stoutly in his behalf, and join'd Forces with the *Spaniards*, *Venetians*, and *Florentines*. It is uncertain whether he did this the better to make his Court to the King of *Spain*, and the Great Duke, who tho' of different Interests, yet both appeared Zealously in the behalf of *Santa Sevarina*, or else to ingratiate himself with the *Spanish* Faction; so that if the Person they had pitch'd upon fail'd, one of his Creatures might serve.

The Third Party was that of the Creatures of *Gregory* the Fourteenth, who tho' at first despicable, upon the account of their inconsiderable Number, being no more than Fifteen against Thirty Seven, yet by their Courage and Conduct, and firm Adherence to one another, we shall find them perform Miracles in the *Conclave*. It is requisite, for the better understanding of the subsequent Relation, that I here give the Reader a List of the Names of these Persons who have so far signaliz'd themselves. They were *Arragona*, Old *Colonna*, *Paliotto*, *Como*, *Altemps*, *Canano*, *Mondovi*, *Lancidotto*, *Ascoli*, *Sforza*, *Sfondrati*, *Pallavicino*, *Boromeo*, *Aquaviva*, and *Platta*. But here we must take notice that young *Colonna*, who was of the Adverse Party, had promis'd his Uncle, that at any time when he could invest him in, or deprive him of the Papacy, he would decline his Vote for *Santa Sevarina*.

This little Party being Exasperated at the Bravado of their Adversaries, who publickly gave out, that they had the Papacy in their Hands, bound themselves under a solemn Oath to use their utmost

 endeavors

endeavors to work the Exclusion of *Santa Severina*. This Enterprize seem'd to every Body else almost impossible to succeed, but they resolv'd that nothing should discourage them in their Resolution; and in order to effect their design, they were not wanting to inform the Cardinals of the great Severity of *Santa Severina*'s Life, a Topick which they, not without reason, thought would Create an extream Aversion to him in the Minds of the Sacred College. They likewise did what they could to raise Jealousies betwixt him and *Montalto*, and the *Spaniards* and *Florentines*. They thought to take off *Montalto* by telling him how he would advance his Glory and Interest, by the Exaltation of one of his own Creatures. The same Arguments were used to Debauch *Madruzzo*. They told the other Competitors how easie a matter it was to attain their Desires by their Assistance, which should never be wanting to them. We may well imagine by what follows, that these Insinuations were swallow'd by most of them, tho' for the present every one was afraid to let his Sentiments be known, lest he should be found singular.

Thus were the Minds of the Cardinals dispos'd when they entered the *Conclave*, after the Preliminary Ceremonies were perform'd, it was the Opinion of *Montalto*, and the Wisest of *Santa Severina*'s Party, that they should attempt his Adoration the first Night, without giving time to those of their own side to cool, or their Adversaries to work upon them. If this Advice had been follow'd, the business had certainly been done that Night, considering the Heat, Confusion, and Darkness, they were then in, whilst every one jealous of his Neighbour, would think, should he refuse to comply, that he thereby markt out himself as the only Object of the future Popes Indignation. But this was an Enterprise too hastily laid for the more Staid and Politick *Spanish* Ambassador, who by staying in the *Conclave* till 'twas late in the Night, taking his Wife and Impertinent Measures with the Graver sort of Cardinals of his Party, let so fair an opportunity slip.

The Night was employd by *Madruzzo*, *Spinola* and *Montalto*, in encouraging and confirming their several Adherents. Early in the Morning they Muster up all their Forces and March to *Santa Severina*'s Cell, at the Head of them; whom they Salute and Honour as Pope, from hence they Conduct him to the Chappel *Paolina* to perform the Ceremony of Adoration. Here it was no unpleasant sight to see what a Bustle and Clutter their Eminencies made, in striving who

who should appear most Officious at his Exaltation. Young *Ascanio Colonna* shew'd himself as Industrious as any Man. Old *Gresvald* the Dean, who could not run as fast as the others, coming last into the Chappel, was fain to make the most wretched Grimaces, that a little Joy might appear in his Countenance.

We may well imagine the sad Condition the poor Excludents were in at this time. But nothing could quite cast down their Courage, they resolving to bestir themselves to the last. Time would not permit them to make any Congregation among themselves, lest whilst they were consulting, their Adversaries should make the Pope; all that they could now do, was to Order, that none of their Party should go into the *Paolina*, lest he should be tempted to comply, or unadvisedly do something that might be interpreted a Consent, but that all should do their utmost amongst their Friends and Relations to gain one Vote only, or, at least, to prevail that it might be suspended for that Morning.

Arragona Colonna, and *Altemps*, tho' sick of the Gout, Orderd themselves to be carried into the Hall, hoping by their presence to prevail with some one person. Here they had the Mortification, to behold all things carried according to the desire of their Enemies. *Altemps* was presently Assaulted by the Cardinal *Del Monte*, who with a Gay Countenance told him, *That by the direction of the Holy Ghost they were going to Adore* Santa Severina, *and desired his Concurrence, that the Honour and Merit of so great an Action might be attributed wholly to him.* *Altemps* who before was in a very surly Humour, now in great Rage and Fury told him, *That he scorn'd his Advice, and bid him go Worship the Devils, Pope himself, if he pleas'd.*

In the mean time *Sforza*, *Sfondrato*, *Boromeo*, and *Aquaviva*, were not idle, but were continually tampering with as many as they could lay hold on, but all to no purpose; *Sfondrato* and *Boromeo* at last fastned on *La Rovere*, who as yet continued in his Chamber. Him they thought to gain over to their side, by putting him in hopes of the *Papacy* for himself; but *Montalto* and *Mattei* soon got him out of their hands, and carried him in Triumph with them thro the Hall to the *Paolina*. This Sight put poor *Altemps* out of all patience, insomuch that he could not forbear treating the Reverend Old Man with the most spiteful and virulent Language.

The Cardinals in the Chappel were now all ready to proceed to the *Adoration*, their *Antagonists*, to leave nothing unattempted, stood before

fore the Door, endeavouring to disturb and distract their Minds, by raising what Confusion they could amongst them. Their Malice had its desired success, for as the others were just going to worship *Santa Severina*, *Sforza* and *Aquaviva* began to bawl out, *That they neither might, nor could proceed any further without a* Scrutiny, saying, *They were not sure they had a competent Number to complete the* Adoration; *And that if they came to An Election contrary to the accustomed manner, they were resolved to protest against it.*

Hereupon there was such a Hubbub and Tumult rais'd in the Chappel, that nothing could be seen in it but Confusion and Disorder. Some cryed there was no Notice to be taken of any such *Protestation*, some were for, others against, the coming to a *Scrutiny*. Some said that the Votes were not to be gather'd before the *Adoration*, others that it was altogether needless. But the Dean, to prevent all Objections, endeavors to appease the raging of this giddy-headed Rabble, and sets about the gathering of the Votes himself. This he attempted several times, but never could reckon above Four, but some impertinent Cardinal or other would be always interrupting and confounding him.

They within perceiving at last that all this Stupefaction proceeded from the Excludents, who stood at the Chappel door, doing all the mischief they could, ordered the door to be shut, which was opposed by *Sforza* and *Aquaviva*; whereupon they had like to have fallen together by the Ears. At last, the Secretaries of the College, and Masters of the Ceremonies were ordered to number the Voices, but such was the Disorder amongst them, that they bungled more at it than the Old Dean did; hereupon several Cardinals undertook this difficult Task, and by their meddling with it, made it ten times more intricate than ever. It is a strange thing that these profound Masters of the most refin'd Politicks in the World, should be thus brought to their Wits end; they knew not how nor for what. We see here poor *Santa Severina* fail'd of becoming St. *Peter's* Infallible Successor, because they that were to make him so, were not able to count Thirty six. Heretick will take this for an odd sort of a Reason, why *Holy Church* should continue for some considerable time without Her so much boasted of Supreme and Unerring Judge. Had the *Conclave* been made up of our *Otthamites* Sages, the Business had been by this time effected; for allowing any one of them not to count himself, yet there remained Thirty five still, which made up two Thirds of the

the Cardinals, and consequently was a sufficient Number to make a Pope.

But that which was still more strange, the Excludents well knowing how many were in the *Paolina*, and most of them beginning now to think of yielding, and to curry Favour with the New Elected Pope, as they thought *Santa Severina* must necessarily be; *Aquaviva* still resolute, tho in a desperate Cause, sends his *Conclavist* into the *Paolina*, to number the Cardinals that were there, who, as if it were Fatal to all persons to blunder that day, brought him word that there were but Thirty four, tho nothing is more certain than that there were Thirty six present.

Aquaviva suspecting some mistake, sends him again on the same Errand, and he returns with the same Answer. This News put new Life into the Excludents, who began to assault the rest afresh, but all to no purpose, till old *Colonna* bethought himself of the promise his Nephew had made, who sends a Note to him by his *Conclavist*, to put him in mind of it, charging him withal to come out, lest by his stay there he should be the Ruine and Confusion of his whole Family, and best Friends.

Ascanio took some time to consider of this Message, but at last finding it was in his power to make *Santa Severina* Pope, or hinder him from it, resolves to go out; what pulling and haling there was at the door by each Party to keep him in, and get him out, was to be seen by his Robes, which were torn in pieces.

How agreeable his Desertion was to the Excludents, soon appeard in Old *Colonna*'s Face, who could not chuse but Weep for Joy at the sight of him, but this lasted not long, for those in the Chappel, now grown more Cautious, Orderd the Door to be shut, intending to proceed immediately in a more regular manner to the Scrutiny; for which they had Votes enough still left, for the Person concern'd may give his Vote for himself, tho he cannot Adore. But *Altemps* beginning to take heart again, and turning to the Young Cardinals, Exhorts them to make a Vigorous Assault upon the Door. Whereupon *Sforza*, *Aquaviva*, *Boromeo*, and *Sfondrato*, began to storm with so great a Noise and Clamour, that they forced it to be opened. They within desire a Parley, and send *Gresnaldi* and *Madruzzo* to Treat with the Excludents; but it was impossible for them to come to any agreement, for both Parties pretended to an equal share of Inspiration from the Holy Ghost, only it is thought that the Trustees had

some

ſome under-hand dealing with the Excludents in their own behalf.

But they returning without effecting any thing, they were ſtill about the Includents, after a long Debate, reſolv'd to proceed to the Scrutiny, Maſs was Ordered to be Celebrated, and the Cardinals to prepare to receive the Communion according to Cuſtom, the Diſſenting Party were ſent to, and deſired to join with them, which they fearing ſome Trap might be laid for them, refus'd, and receiv'd the Euchariſt by themſelves in the Chappel of *Siſto* from the Hands of *Sfondrato*, which being perform'd on both ſides, *Sforza* and *Aquaviva* were deputed by the Excludents to go into the *Paolina* to Obſerve how things were managed at the Scrutiny. In the mean time *Gaetano* goes to *Canano*'s Chamber, where he found him ſick of the Gout, or at leaſt pretending himſelf ſo, *Gaetano* uſes all the Arguments he can to allure him to his Party, by telling him, *What a Meritorious and Heroical Act it would be for him to make* Santa Severina *Pope.* But he having ſome ſmall pretentions for himſelf refus'd to go, or be carried out, upon pretence of the great pain that was in one of his Toes, tho' it was evident that it lay more in his Head, than in his Feet. *Santa Severina*'s Conclaviſt ſomething more ſubtle than the reſt, came a little while after to him, and with a ſeeming Joy told him, *That his Maſter was Elected Pope, and deſired to ſee him.* But the Crafty Old Fox was not to be caught with a Banter, but told the Conclaviſt, *That he would take time to conſider of it.*

But notwithſtanding his, and his Aſſociates refuſal to comply, *Santa Severina* had ſtill a ſufficient Number of Votes to complete his Election, of which he ſeemd ſo ſecure, that he began to declare how he would forgive all thoſe that had oppos'd him; and in Teſtimony thereof, he gave out, *That it was his deſign to take upon him the Name of* Clement.

All things were now ready for the Scrutiny, and ſince the followers of *Santa Severina* had already given their Votes for him, by ſaluting him Pope, and carrying him from his Cell to the *Paolina* to Adore him, it was thought fit that the Votes ſhould be given publickly; for thereby it was ſuppoſed, that none durſt refuſe his conſent which he had given for ſo many Hours together. This put *Sforza* and *Aquaviva* to their laſt Shifts, who now plainly ſaw, that without ſome Bold and Deſperate Reſolution their Ruin was unavoidable. They therefore very impudently affirm'd, *That this way of proceeding*

ceeding was contrary to all the ancient Customs and Liberties of the Sacred College; and that if the Scrutiny *was not made secretly, they would protest against the Election, commanding the Masters of the Ceremonies to take Notice of this their Protestation.*

One may well wonder at their Confidence, in putting such a Sham upon the Sacred College, there never having been any Bull which forbids the *Scrutiny* to be done in publick. But the Folly of the rest is inexpressible, who suffer'd themselves to be led by the Nose by their profest Enemies, but it was *San Severina*'s Fate to be chous'd of the Papacy, and his Parties yielding this Point to their Adversaries, was the only means to bring it about: For it being carried that a secret *Scrutiny* should be made, whereby it was in the power of any person to withdraw his Vote without being known, there were found but 30 for him, Four having privately deserted; which, together with his own, would have completed his Election.

It is not in my power to express the Joy the Excludents made appear upon this occasion, much less the confusion of the contrary Faction, when they found themselves so shamefully cheated. But to give *Santa Severina* his due, he bore his adverse Fortune with the same Magnanimity as he did his Prosperity, when he went into the Chappel attended by so great a number of Cardinals, and continued there as Pope for some hours. This imaginary Advancement works no alteration in him, nor did he appear in the least dejected when he came out, no more than an ordinary Cardinal. Returning alone to his Cell, he found it plunder'd by the *Conclavists*, as the Custom is, when any one is declared Pope. The sight of which, notwithstanding his former Philosophical Humor, was observ'd to force some few Tears from the good old Man.

But *Montalto* was resolved not to be discouraged for all this, but without pulling off his Robes, whil'st the rest went to Dinner, he calls all his Creatures together about him in the *Paolina*, and with a long Harangue, which I don't think worth my while to write down, exhorts them all to Unity and Perseverance in the same Cause. Old *la Rovere* begins to be somewhat restly hereat, and let's *Montalto* know, *That this violent Zeal for* Santa Severina *look'd, as if he thought none of his own Creatures fit for the Papacy, amongst whom there was a great Number of very worthy Men, wherefore he thought fit to tell him, that if he would nominate one of them, he should command his Vote; which in point of Honour and Gratitude to his Uncle* Sisto, *was wholly at his*

Service, otherwise he would make bold to follow the Dictates of his Conscience.

But I should grow tedious if I went to relate the last Efforts and Struglings of *Santa Severina*'s dying Party, his Opponents following their Blow so closely, that it was impossible for him to recover any strength, or rally again his scattered Forces. The endeavors of *Madruzzo* and *Montalto* proving ineffectual, their Zeal began to cool, especially the formers, since the other Faction, the better to draw him off, had persuaded him to set up for himself. But this had like to have raised Civil Dissentions betwixt them two, and a Mutiny amongst *Montalto*'s Creatures, who openly declared against *Madruzzo*; which made him peaceably lay aside his Pretensions, rather than lose his Credit by vainly persuing them: And this he was the rather induced to do, for fear lest by breaking with *Montalto*, he should thereby incite him to set up one who might espouse contrary Interests to those of his Catholick Majesty.

After him *Como* and *Palcotto* were named, as persons recommended by the King of *Spain*; but *Montalto* having had some Clashings with them in former Conclaves, was resolved not to trust them with the Sovereign Power. Next to these old *Colonna* began to conceive some small hopes of himself, he expecting the Excludents to side with him because he was of their Party, the *Spanish* Votes because he was one of the persons nominated by that King, and *Montalto*'s by reason of the Affinity between their Families: But he finding his Friends begin to forsake him at a dead lift, imitated *Madruzzo*'s prudence, and retreated, whilst his Honour was safe. Some were of opinion that *Rusticucci*'s old Age, and the expectation of his approaching death might somewhat recommend him, but his hopes, as well as his Brethrens, soon vanished into smoke:

There were several other little Pretenders not worth the naming, whose business was soon done, because they were none of *Montalto*'s Creatures, whose Intrigues had that success, as that now he found it absolutely in his power alone to make whom he pleas'd, the greatest part of the College continually importuning him to name the person that should be Pope. Hereupon he at last discovers his Design which he had long kept secret, and proposes *Aldobrandino*; his Choice was immediately confirmed with almost an universal Consent of the Cardinals, only *Madruzzo* stood out for some small time, alledging, *That derogated from his Master's Honour, to have one chosen who was not recom-*

recommended by him; and that Aldobrandino *not having yet declared himself for any Faction, it was to be suspected that instead of favouring* Spain, *he would rather stand Neuter.* But the true Reason was, that which in *Italy* is generally the cause of an irreconcileable Enmity, he thought that he had formerly injured him, when in the Conclave of *Urban* VII. he was the onely person that worked his Exclusion: But finding now that it was not in his power to serve him such a Trick again, he thought it most conducive to his own and Master's Interest, by a ready Compliance, to expiate his former Offence. His affected Forwardness in seeming to promote what he could not hinder at last put an End to this tedious Intriguing and Turbulent *Conclave*.

AN

ESSAY

To Prove, that according to the

Undeniable Principles

Of the Preſent

Church of Rome,

There has not been a True and Lawful POPE ever ſince *SIXTUS* the Fifth.

I Suppoſe, that from a bare Relation of theſe Two *Conclaves*, any Man of Senſe may perceive by what Spirit the Elections of Popes are generally influenced. But if *Roman Catholicks* would be guided by the Dictates of Right Reaſon, I don't know of any Controverſie depending betwixt them and us that had not been long ſince determined. To comply therefore with their Humour, I ſhall here endeavour

deavour to prove from such Maxims which cannot be question'd, without denying all the Authority that ever they pretended to be in their Church, that there has been no Pope duly Elected, and consequently had any lawful Jurisdiction, ever since the Election of *Sixtus* the Fifth; whereby I hope to make it evident, that either there never was any such thing as Infallibility in Pope, or Councils, or both together; or if there was, it serves now only to demonstrate, that it is at this present totally extinquished.

There are none I am sure can deny, but that *Simony* is Decreed by the Universal Consent of innumerable Popes, Canons, and Councils, to contain Heresie in it; so that he that is guilty of the former, must also be a Heretick; and that if any Person gets into the Pontifical Chair by *Simony*, he becomes thereby Heretical, his Election is Null and Void; and he is not only not Head of the Church, but Inferior to all other Christians. *Julius* the Second in his *Bull* to this Purpose Decrees, *That whosoever procures the Suffrage of any Cardinal by any Promise, Obligation, or Compact, made by himself, or others, that his* ELECTION *be accomplished by the Unanimous Consent of the whole College of Cardinals, and Confirmed by Adoration, it is yet Void, and of no Effect; and the Person so infected with* Simoniacal Heresie, *is to be accounted by all Men as no Pope, or Bishop of* Rome, *but an Apostate and Arch-Heretick, and Incapable of all manner of Jurisdiction and Authority in Matters both Ecclesiastical and Temporal; and from that time forward deprived, (even without any Declaration,) of his Cardinalship, and all other Benefices, or Dignities whatsoever; nor can any subsequent Acts of Obedience done to him by the Cardinals, Intronisation, or continuance of Time, make good his Unlawful Assumption to the Pontifical Chair.*

Now

Now from those Principles which are founded upon the greatest Authority in the *Romish Church*, I suppose it easie to shew, That there has scarce a Pope been Chosen for several Hundreds of Years, whose Election has not been Tainted with *Simony*, which if made out upon any one, is sufficient to Prove an Interruption in the Succession; and then all those Prerogatives which by it the Popes pretend to derive from St. *Peter* fall to the ground.

We have already seen in the *Conclave* of *Sixtus* Compacts, Promises, and Obligations, with a Witness, but I have reserved one passage for this place, which to take away all Contradiction, will clearly Evidence that his Election was carried directly contrary to the *Bull* of *Julius*. Cardinal *d' Este* before he would engage himself and Followers to Espouse *Montalto*'s Interest, Bargained with him, *That if he were Pope he would never raise to the Purple. Hieronymo Matthei*, a *Roman* Bishop, whom *Este* Mortally Hated, which *Montalto* not only promised him, but in a formal Instrument drawn up for that Purpose, gave him his Hand and Seal upon it. But when he came to be *Sixtus* the Fifth, he made it his Chief Care and Study to Mortifie those that had Advanced him. *Matthei* was made a Cardinal amongst the first that he promoted.

Este finding himself deceived in this, as well as his other Expectations, was so Netled thereat, that to be Revenged of the Pope, he sent the Original Contract made between them to *Philip* the Second King of *Spain*. His Catholick Majesty was so far concern'd at the Scandal that must necessarily arise from hence to *Holy Church*, that in the Year 1589 he sent the Duke of *Sessa* his Ambassador to *Sixtus* to intimate to him the necessity of a General Council

cil concerning his *Simoniacal* Election, and to require the Cardinals Created by his Predeceſſors to appear at the ſaid Council, which he deſign'd to hold at *Sevil*. But upon the Duke of *Seſſa*'s coming to *Rome* the Pope Dies, ſo the deſign of this Council for a New Election came to nothing.

Sixtus his *Simoniacal* Entrance into the Chair being thus Notorious to all the World, it neceſſarily follows, that all the pretended Cardinals of his Creation had no lawful Authority to Act as ſuch. Yet we find after his Death that of Fifty Three Cardinals that made up the *Conclave*, Twenty Five of his making bore the greateſt ſway therein, who under the Conduct of *Montalto*, Nephew to *Sixtus*, were the Authors of *Urban* the Seventh's Election. A few Days after they did the like for *Gregory* the Fourteenth; and next to him, for *Innocent* the Ninth. But let any unprejudiced Romaniſt in the World Judg of the Validity of their Election.

We have already ſeen how powerful that Party was in the *Conclave* of *Clement* the Eighth, who was himſelf one of *Sixtus* his Creatures, and owed his Advancement wholly to the reſt, ſo that he was under a double Incapacity of being Choſen. The *Spaniards*, tho' they above all other *Roman Catholicks*, are the moſt Devoted to the Holy See, were ſenſible enough of the Unlawfulneſs of *Clement*'s Election, eſpecially when he began to Act contrary to their Intereſt; for when he Abſolved *Henry* the Fourth, and thereby acknowledged him King of *France*, They did not ſtick in ſeveral Books written by them to that purpoſe, publickly to Aver, That he had no Authority to admit that Prince into the Communion of the Church, he having

ving nothing to do therein himself; for if *Sixtus*, say they, was guilty of *Simony*, then by the *Bull* of *Julius* the Second, he was no true and lawful Pope, and consequently could not make Cardinals, nor they who derived their Power from him Elect a Pope.

Now I might carry down the same Argument to prove the Invalidity of the Election of all the succeeding Popes, but left it should be worn Thred-bare, the *Conclave* of this *Clement* has furnished us with a fresh one; but in the first place it will be convenient to premise, that according to the Canons, He that hath the Suffrages of Two Parts in Three of the Cardinals, ought from that very Moment to be accounted duly Elected; and he that is set up during his Life, is no other than an Antipope. As for the Ceremonies of Inthronisation, Adoration, or Kissing the Foot, they are no more than the Effects and Consequences of a true Election, and no way Essential to it, which as the Canon, [*In Nomine Domini*,] does allow, may be omitted if opposed, either by Force or Cunning of any that Dissent from the rest.

This we have seen to have been exactly the Case of *San Severina*, he was taken from his Cell by above Two Thirds of the Cardinals, and carried by them into the Chappel, and there placed in the Pontifical Chair, and publickly Acknowledged and Adored as Pope, and ought certainly to have continued so, notwithstanding his being Cheated of his Right by the Infidelity of his Followers, and the Tricks of his Adversaries, who made shift to cause *Aldobrandino* to Jostle him out of the Holy Chair. But tho' He kept possession of it, yet was his Title very much question'd and disputed at *Rome*, as well as in *Spain*; nor can I see any Reason

Reaſon in the World why he ought not to be counted an Uſurper and Antipope.

If I thought it worth the while, I might proceed to make out, that none of the ſucceeding Popes had any better Title: But I think there is enough ſaid, not only to prove a Failure in the Succeſſion, but to Unchurch the whole Communion, ſo as it is impoſſible for it to be ever reſtored. For allowing the abovementioned Perſons to have been Intruders into the *Holy Chair*, neither the Cardinals of their Creation, nor thoſe whom they Elect, can have any other Authority than what they received from them. And the Holy See and Sacred College being thus become Heretical and Schiſmatick, this Contagion of neceſſity muſt diffuſe itſelf into the whole Communion: For the Fountain Head being once poyſoned, it is impoſſible for the ſtreams that flow from it to be uncorrupted. So that according to the preſent Conſtitutions of that Church, it is not in the power even of a General Council to Reform it.

I ſhall conclude with my Advice to our *Romiſh* Friends, *that they would henceforward ceaſe to cavil at ſome pretended Irregularities which they would fain make us believe they have eſpied in the Conduct of our Reformers, ſince our Church is not at all founded upon the ſandy Foundation of Human Authority; And tho' we have the greateſt Veneration imaginable for thoſe great Men, yet we ſtill acknowledge them to have been Men, and conſequently not exempt from a poſſibility of Erring.*

FINIS.